FREEDOM

An Anarchist Monthly

NEW SERIES, VOL. II, No. 4 JUNE, 1934 FIVE CENTS

TO THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA

Fellow Workers:

Do you know that this United States of America is the richest country in the world?

Do you know that with modern machinery the average farmer can feed twenty people; that engineers and technologists who have given years of study to the problem of production assert, and back up their assertion with figures, that our production machinery never operates at more than fifty per cent of its present capacity and generally at twenty-five per cent?

Do you know that these same technologists claim that with a few hours work a day e[illegible]an can and should have a minimum of $6,000 a [illegible]?—many of them assert even $20,000. In short do you know that the problem of production has been solved in this country, and that there should be plenty for all?

With these facts firmly in mind do you know that *even according to government estimates*, there are still eleven million able-bodied men and women begging for work at almost any price and that they are denied the opportunity? The opportunity to make clothing for ragged men and women, to tear down tenements unfit for human habitation, like the sixty-seven thousand that, according to Tenement House Commissioner Langdon Post of New York City, stand in this city alone—and to build decent houses in their place for themselves and families to live in?

Do you know that according to *Leaflet Number 44* of the United States Department of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of that Department, under the heading of The Deepening Crisis in Education, states that 2,280,000 children from 6 to 15 years of age are not now in school; that to provide education for them it would be necessary to hire 76,000 more teachers than at present, and that to operate city schools with the same number of pupils per teacher as we had in 1930, would necessitate the hiring of more than 26,000 additional teachers?

Do you know that in spite of the above facts there are 200,000 certificated teachers who are unemployed?

Do you know further, according to the same pamphlet—*issued by the U. S. Government itself*—that one out of every four American teachers receives less than $750 per year?

That more than 84,000 rural teachers receive less than $450 each?

That one out of every 13 Negro teachers receives $25 per month or less? When you have digested the above swallow the following, also from the same pamphlet: "From school funds $150,000,000 will have to be paid in 1933-34 to adults for *interest* on warrants and bonds. Not $1 of that sum can be used for teaching children." In other words, teachers must be starved. As the pamphlet says again, "One teacher in four in rural communities (Missouri) taught last year from 1 to 4 months *without pay*," *but interest must be paid.* (Italics ours.)

Working men and working women, the producers of all the wealth are undernourished and underfed; they live in tenement houses unfit for habitation; ragged and discouraged they stand in bread lines or live at standards less than those set by Poor Houses; their children are denied the education which is supposed to fit them to take their places in the present scheme of things—and all this in the richest country on earth! Even the most elemental needs to maintain body and soul are denied them, while bank presidents, after swindling the government out of $800,000 income taxes in the most bare-faced manner, have the impudence to consider that $100,000 a year each is not enough. School teachers of the next generation of adults live on less than a dollar a day while parasitic bank presidents claim to be underpaid on nineteen hundred times that much.

Do you know that the profits of the General Motors Corporation, according to its own yearly report, were more than $83,000,000 last year as against an increase in wages of only $27,000,000; or that profits for the year 1933 *increased three times as fast as wages?*

After turning these things over in your mind you will not be surprised that the Recovery Act and the New Deal have slowed down to a walk and that another and greater crash is, to use the expression of the saintly Hoover, just around the corner unless greater purchasing power for the masses and a more equitable distribution of wealth are brought about, and that very quickly. Of what avail is it to increase wages 7½ per cent when the cost of living increases 22 per cent? How can we as workers buy back what we produce when the cost of living increases three times as fast as wages? We may defy the laws of physics by sending heavier-than-air machines above the clouds, by producing pictures that talk like men; by shooting projectiles 25 or 30 miles; but with all the criminal waste of food, clothing, shelter, starving of education and culture, no one has yet found a way whereby an unused surplus can be avoided when the cost of living increases three times as fast as wages paid to the producers. New Deal or Old Deal, it just can not be done, and the sooner you as a worker realize that fact the better. Many honest men and women are striving in Washington and elsewhere to find a way whereby the irreconcilables can be reconciled, whereby interest charges can be paid

and education not be starved as it is now, but none has been found. The evil lies not so much in paying bank presidents $100,000 a year, deplorable as that is, but in the fact that private ownership of the industrial machinery prevents men from working and producing the things they need when those things can not be distributed at a profit. This is the real evil beside which the support of drones and parasites becomes trivial and unimportant. The one basic and fundamental change necessary in our social life is for workers and producers of wealth to take over the machinery and operate it for the benefit of all. Whether there will be a new kind of money, a different system of land tenure, or many other things must follow, not lead, the procession. The workers and farmers of the country must unite, and not under the leadership of such men as Wm. Green and Matthew Woll. Men such as these have the same mentality and psychology as the Morgans and the Mitchels and all the other parasites. We want shorter hours and higher wages, but we want still more control of the wealth we produce and the power to dispose of it as we see fit.

How much longer do we workers and farmers intend to starve and to go in rags? How much longer do we intend to see our children deprived of even the meager education of former years while bankers and blood-suckers eat up the salaries that should go to teachers and to other workers? How much longer will we have our creative faculties dulled and destroyed by years of enforced idleness until we have lost the *will* to work and have become nervous wrecks, without will or purpose?

The private ownership of natural resources must be ended, and that means abolition of the profit system—a system which places in the hands of some men the power to determine whether the rest shall live as human beings or as yes men dependent on the whims of others. The power to produce wealth far beyond the needs of man is the result of countless generations of men and ages of struggle, and even if the so-called inventor of a new machine or process received the credit and profit that now go to the banker and industrialist it would still be wrong, for he has profited by the efforts of past generations and has done no more than add a new gadget or a new method of assembling old ones. These things are the inheritance of all men and to all men they should go. Shall we working men and women, creators of all wealth, soldiers of all wars, and preservers of civilization, awake and rebuild this world now in process of disintegration? Rebuild it on a basis that will apply justice and well-being for all? Build a world that will distribute the wealth now rotting in our warehouses and our fields? Build a world wherein man shall walk the earth for the first time free? Build a world where children will smile and play and life take on a new meaning?

The zero hour approaches. We must decide now whether poison gas, bombing planes and big guns now being made shall be used or scrapped; whether civilization shall perish or go on to greater things. We have nothing to lose but our chains and a world to gain. Which shall it be? H. K.

Dictatorship

By JULES SCARCERIAUX

Dictatorship? Political malefactors count their victims by the millions while the ordinary evil-doers who are judged by the courts are guilty of killing and robbing only some few individuals. In Russia, for instance, the full tale of the horrors occurring daily, perpetrated by authority, will probably never be known, though time brings its own revenge and one day will assuredly retaliate.

Will humanity ever realize its ideals through political channels? What say our friends,

THE ANARCHIST AND THE BOLSHEVIST?

B.: You are as fanatical as a sincere Catholic priest. For you, as for him, there is no salvation outside your church, outside Anarchism. You are unable to understand that at all periods of history since society has existed there has been someone to govern, and that only under governments has any progress been realized. Your Anarchism is nothing but fanaticism.

A.: Well, your statement is clear, no one could misinterpret it. Still, we shall repeat that absolute freedom is essential for the full and proper development of the individuals composing society.

B.: Your conception of absolute freedom is very abstract; words, no matter how beautiful they may be, if they have no connection with human relationships or human life have no meaning, and are only used to obscure ideas.

A.: If that is so, we shall try to explain our meaning. Look at history and see what have been the obstacles to the development of mankind, and what have been the means by which men have overcome those obstacles. The Anarchist's conception of absolute freedom, which tends and has always tended towards progress, will be found to be the basis of all progressive forces. Men have been struggling to be able to work when they wish to. Instinctively men know that work is a pleasure when done freely, a pleasure instead of a task: and men working freely never demand a limitation of their day's work. This is so true and so simple that even a college professor can understand it. Familiar with philosophy or unfamiliar with philosophy, men feel that free work is a pleasure. Men with common sense feel that, when free, if they are tired of one kind of work they can change to another. The monotony of leaving the house every day at the same time, walking the same streets, meeting the same people in factory or office, being at the same bench doing the same task over and over again for hours is today the envy of the army of hungry unemployed; but the monotony of such a life is appalling, and men with common sense desire the freedom to change, to work when they want to.

B.: Bunk! With your prejudice against authority, you state your conclusions with the solemnity of a dogmatist. That is the reason that no person of sanity and sense can endorse the Anarchist philosophy.

Reason tells us that some men produce and that others must control production. Without proper control, production would necessarily be unending chaos. Government is the controlling agent.

A.: So you are of the opinion that production without government could only be chaotic? What about the millions of starving unemployed and their families in the present state? Is this not chaos?

B.: You make a fetish of liberty without understanding the economic causes which make it possible or impossible. Filled with the vagaries of an unrealizable idealism, you constantly seek to impose a chimera of your imagination upon a world of fact. Let the workers govern themselves as they do in Soviet Russia and none will then be starving. Workers must have their own government to teach them what to do.

A.: Yes, what they are to do and what they are to believe. Men must be taught to believe that there is a lower type of man, an inferior type whose intellectual development someone must take care of it. And it is cared for, not in the interest of the so-called lower type, but in the interest of the higher type, the type that governs. And the latter believe in it. "Finding themselves worshipped by others, they become worshippers of themselves, and think themselves entitled to be counted at a hundred times the value of other people," said J. S. Mill, adding: "that the facility they acquire of doing as they like without regard to consequences insensibly weakens the habits which make them look forward even to such consequences as affect themselves. This is the meaning of the universal tradition, grounded on universal experience, of men being corrupted by power." No matter what school of thought you belong to, you must be in favor either of the best organized government's directing the least actions of our lives, or you must be for no government at all. Evolution indicates that all governments tend to lose power except in temporary spasms, as is the case at present in some European countries; and, looking back at history, we see that all the efforts of humanity have tended to weaken power: aristocracy replaced autocracy, democracy is replacing aristocracy. With the continued evolution of man's intellect, humanity will finally be composed of men who will no longer stand for a system of society that directs their actions.

B.: Dwelling in clouds of fancy, you shrink from descending to reality and facing life as it is lived. You are failures in the matter of translating your theories practically into action. It may be so that, evolving, men will approach perfection. But they are far from perfect now, and it is absurd to believe that in their present condition they could achieve freedom.

A.: There is no doubt that if men were liberated today some of them would make bad use of their freedom, but it is only in the use of freedom that human nature can develop harmoniously. As an illustration: people were opposed to the free use of running water. Men, said they, are too unconscious of what is right: some would let the water run day and night, if only for the fun of it, for mischief. Yet it has been found that men are reasonable beings, and what was once held to be an impossibility has proven to be a success. Any system of society that regulates our lives contrary to our instinctive evolution toward justice and freedom is taking back the errors of the past, it is retrogressing.

B.: Well and good, but let us first teach the masses to be class-conscious, then they can place some of themselves in power. That is the only way we shall ever have change.

A.: Again we repeat that there are two fundamental schools of thought—authoritarian and libertarian. The seeds of the latter are making slow progress; but remember that some plants will not bloom before their roots have penetrated deep into the ground. It is as Elisée Reclus, the philosopher, once wrote: "The seed falls upon the earth. For a time it seems dead. Then it breaks the hard crust of the earth, the crust of dirt that really is its enemy, and it becomes a plant which blooms and ripens its fruit." Every fruit, every realization of an idea, even in a changing period, can only ripen by an effort which requires a strength corresponding to the force opposed to it. If the progress toward liberty in the brain of the masses seems slow its realization will come suddenly. "Evolution takes place in the brain," wrote Reclus, "but the arms make revolution."

B.: No revolution can be sucessful without dictatorship or without a workers' government. See what is taking place under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Its marvelous development will make Soviet Russia the greatest, the most powerful, the most benevolent, the most humanitarian commonwealth of all the nations of the earth. Without authority the Russian Revolution would have been crushed long ago. War threats by Japan have forced the Soviet authorities to store three years' supply of grain in order to be prepared for war: many of the largest factories, instead of turning out commodities for domestic consumption, were necessarily transformed into plants for the production of war materials. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is saving the Russian Revolution.

A.: No, the revolution can no longer be saved. It has been killed. Russia is, at present, at its Napoleonic period. But revolution will be successful without authority. Less than fifty years ago it was believed that no horseless vehicle could be made to go, and today we see millions of them. Today it is believed that society cannot exist without authority, but authority will go, for it is an intoxicant worse than alcoholism — and causes more suffering. It is the worst evil that exists From cradle to grave we are the victims of this insidious poison, authority. The words of authority are the seeds of fear, degradation, humiliation and hatred.

B.: Well, your last statement confirms my first one, for it defines your belief that all opposition to your creed is hell; it corroborates the belief that Anarchism is fanaticism. Down with Anarchism! Long live Bolshevism!

A.: Submit your principles to analysis in the mental laboratory of reason and we firmly believe that all of us shall be united in an inspiring fellowship having for its ideal freedom—and more freedom.

FREEDOM

Successor to ROAD TO FREEDOM

NEW SERIES, VOL. II, NO. 4

A Monthly Journal of Anarchist News and Opinion

Published Monthly by

Road to Freedom Publishing Ass'n

219 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Address all mail to

P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York, N. Y.

Entered as Second Class Matter January 4, 1933, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Single copies Five Cents; $1.00 a year

PROLETARIAN SPRING

In Spring, protected winter minds awake,
And are vague-stirred by trolley cars
Which distant lurch in silent Flatbush night;
Are not content with drug store talk,
Nor set adream by sagging warmth of jazz.
Now when desire slips to dream of
Close communion with El Greco sunset,
The dew rehearsed in schemes of freedom
From an itching urban memory;
Or long-wished affinity,
Physically as mutable as April weather,
Yet ever understanding what you feel,
Releasing vague resentment with full love;
Now shall we teach them what to think,
Expose the truth with frequent bombast,
(Conditioned minds need expletives, not facts)
Inculcate knowledge in this optimum,
Ere summer's dullened pace their minds have gummed.

Thomas Lark Newman

Notes and Comments

Van der Lubbe:

In the March issue of *Man* there is an attack on Rudolf Rocker and the editors of *The Freie Arbeiter Stimme* for what is claimed to be their attitude toward Van der Lubbe. Not being able to read Jewish and so judge for ourselves we refrain from making any comment on the quarrel, but our opinion on the issue itself is submitted for what it is worth.

Van der Lubbe admitted having set fire to the Reichstag building, but refused, even in the shadow of the guillotine, to incriminate anyone else in that act and maintained this attitude to the very end. Under such circumstances to assume that he was in any way connected with Nazism seems not only unjust but childish. The same can be said of the charge that he was an idiot; had he been he could not have made the intelligent answers he did, nor would he have requested that they hurry the trial and get it over with. Further, it would have been easy for the Nazis to coach him into identifying others as accessories and fellow conspirators. The theory that he was doped by the authorities is not at all unreasonable and one not easily disproved. Whether his setting fire to the Reichstag building was intelligent is a matter of opinion, but it was no more insane than the every-day actions of millions of men in all walks of life, and his refusal to incriminate others in that act was very far from being the behavior of a spy or an idiot. We should pay tribute to him for his courage in the face of certain death and for saving the lives of the four who were accused with him; it can not be doubted that had he said the word they would have been convicted and guillotined and he might have saved his own life at the expense of theirs.

Syndicalism and Lawyers:

According to *The New York Times* more than two-thirds of the members of the Senate and more than half of the House of Representatives are lawyers, 68 in the former and 251 in the latter, which reminds us: Some twenty years ago when Walter Lippmann was a young and promising Socialist he objected to Syndicalism on the grounds that in a Syndicalist state men in certain key-note industries—railways, mines and steel mills—could "blackmail" society by threatening cessation of industry and so obtain almost anything they wanted. For some reason he did not include the farmers, possibly because he thought they were much too individualistic to organize, or perhaps he overlooked them. Yet we have never heard of his objecting to the fact that one group, and a non-producing group at that, does conduct the affairs of the nation and does blackmail the people, . . . but by now he believes in government by the "best" minds and who has better minds for government than lawyers? Incidentally, we hear much these days about the greed and even infamy, of individuals who hold two jobs at one time, or a wife who works while her husband earns $15 or $20 a week on a CWA job while others are unemployed. Here we have men employed at salaries running from $7,500 to $10,000 a year, with secretaries and other perquisites, supposed to be devoting their time and talents, if they have any, to serving the people, while actually they are practicing law and making all kinds of money outside their regular jobs without anything being said, or perhaps even thought, about it. Did you say this is a cockeyed world, kid? I'll say you did!

Emma Goldman in Chicago

By ANNA OLAY

Arriving in Chicago on March 21st, she was met at the station by a group of comrades and a score of reporters and photographers.

As she stepped off the train, one could see by the determined tilt of her chin that we had with us the

Emma of fifteen years ago, to whom the passing of time has been unusually kind, for, in spite of the many years of hardship, exile and wandering from one country to another, she is still as forceful, eloquent and full of contagious enthusiasm as in those hectic days when Emma was a symbol of revolution in America.

As the reporters had to get their news in by a certain hour they had to interview her at the station. Needless to say, there was a large crowd listening in to the interview who were able to hear the quick and witty remarks and answers that Emma gave the gentlemen of the press. Many a silly question was asked of her by these *educators* of the people, and, with the exception of the *Chicago Daily News,* whose reporter went up to her hotel room to interview her and then gave her a very nice write-up, the papers had very little to say.

Next day she delivered her first lecture at the New Masonic Temple before an audience of nearly 2,000 people, the largest of the series. On the following day she spoke at the Mandel Hall of the University of Chicago before an audience of 1,400 people, mostly students. So great was the interest at the University that several hundred could not get in for lack of room. She spoke on her life, adapting her talk especially for students. On Saturday she lectured in Milwaukee and was back in Chicago Sunday afternoon, lecturing at Lincoln Center before a capacity house.

One would have expected that Emma, 64 years old, would have demanded some rest after four consecutive lectures, but not she! Next day she delivered two lectures, one at Northwestern University in the afternoon, and the other in the evening at the Labor Lyceum where she spoke in Jewish on "The Relation of Art and Culture in Germany." At this meeting a great many of our Communist friends were present, and although many of them think that she is a misguided old woman who would be much more valuable to the revolutionary movement if she were a Communist, they could not help but admire her. At every meeting she made very strong and touching appeals for the political prisoners in Europe and the response was invariably most generous.

To cap it all, on Saturday the 31st a farewell party was arranged at the beautiful Lincoln Hall of the Amalgamated Center. Our friend Ben Capes came from St. Louis especially for the occasion and will tell the rest of the story. It was a most successful evening from every point of view.

It has been very refreshing and inspiring to have Emma in our midst once more, and I hope that the older comrades will be able to draw some of that youthful enthusiasm of which Emma has such an abundance and will take up again the work that they have gradually neglected and which some of them have abandoned altogether since Emma first left these shores. I also hope that the young comrades who have had the privilege of hearing her for the first time in their lives will be fired with enthusiasm to carry on the work when she shall again leave this country, and together we shall succeed in building up a movement that will be worth while and exemplary.

The Ferrer Modern School

The Modern School of Stelton, N. J., is in a critical condition; so much so that it is found necessary to call upon all those interested in libertarian education as a means of building a new social order for support.

Opened as the Ferrer Modern School in New York City on October 13th, 1911, and transferred to Stelton, N. J., on May 16th, 1915, the Modern School is now in its twenty-third year, the oldest libertarian day school for children in America.

From the date of its opening down to the present the School has advocated and carried out to the best of its ability and resources, educational ideas much in advance of its times. Many of the ideas which it has introduced are now current practice in the Progressive and even some of the Public Schools of the country—wherever superintendents, principals and teachers have come to realize the essential truth of our belief that no real improvement in the social order is possible as long as a capitalist psychology prevails in the schools. Much work remains to be done, and will continue to remain so long as the School maintains its tradition of being ahead of the times. At present, with education one of the first social functions to suffer from the depression everywhere, our task is greater than ever.

Throughout the years that the School has been at Stelton the colonists, all of them working men and women and most of them workers in the garment industries, have been its chief supporters. They have given, not only money, but time and labor, and given until it has hurt—not only to keep the school for their own children, but to maintain it as a beacon light for others to see and follow. How much influence it has had on the radical and progressive movements in education we have no exact means of knowing, but we do know that many of the ideas first advocated and practiced by us are now urged and practiced by educators everywhere.

Stelton, as a working-class community, has been hard hit by the depression, so hard in fact that probably a third or even more of the colonists are on government relief, and even the unbelievably low wage of $70 a month promised the teachers is far too often unpaid.

Partly as a measure of relief, and partly to widen and extend the interest and support of the School, an Auxiliary Membership of the Modern School Association of N. A. is being organized. We cordially invite you to become a member. The membership is $3 a year for individuals and a minimum of $25 a year for trades unions and fraternal organizations.

The School is under the supervision of Alexis and Elizabeth Ferm, veterans in the field of libertarian education and for five years resident principals. It is open for inspection by friends at any time. The Living House is open for the boarding of children; the price, inclusive of board, lodging, tuition and general supervision, is $8 a week.

Modern School Association of N. A.,
Stelton, N. J.

THE UPHEAVAL IN FRANCE

The workers of France are being roused by the conditions in the country. They see their economic situation getting worse daily, while corruption in official places is growing and the reaction is getting stronger and more shameless.

There is no doubt that the reactionary elements are looking forward to the time when they can follow the example of Hitler and Dollfuss. At present they are taking advantage of the numerous financial scandals which have exposed the venality and rottenness of the so-called democratic regime. The Stavisky affair, involving hundreds of millions of francs, is only one of the most prominent financial swindles uncovered in France; but it is by no means the only one. The monarchists and other dark elements have taken advantage of these scandals in order to discredit parliamentarism . . . as if corruption and robbery of public funds (and of private as well, are limited only to parliamentary or democratic regimes!

To be sure, the Stavisky "affair" was so colossal that it inevitably involved the entire Government. Stavinsky was a fellow who had been sent to prison for ordinary theft. He had been repeatedly kicked out of the casinos of Cannes and Monte Carlo for cheating at the games. And he was known to the police of almost every large city in France as a common thief and swindler. That such a man was permitted to be director of great financial affairs, to participate in the operations of great banks and do "business" on a large scale, was rather curious, to put it mildly. Still more curious was it that the numerous charges against him never came to trial. It was strange that somehow he managed to get permission to gamble in the very casinos from which he had been driven out; that no judge dared to call his cases up for trial in spite of the fact that there were many indictments against him. In short, it soon became generally understood that some powerful "protection" was active in behalf of that swindler on a grand scale. The people realized that the "protection" reached to very high places; that the "friends" of Stavisky were to be sought in the Parliament and in the Government.

It was to protest against this state of affairs that the people of Paris rose in indignation. Popular clamor grew so strong that the Radical-Socialist Government of Chautemps had to resign. Daladier, belonging to the same political party, formed a new Cabinet. It was the old, old trick, to make the people believe that a change of political puppets could alter the situation!

But the "new" Government was no different than the former one. It did not mean to take any real action in the Stavisky case, as demanded by the people. Indeed, what action could it take except to expose itself, as well as its predecessor, in being the partners of Stavisky and of all his swindles and robberies? The Government hit upon the bright scheme of dismissing the heads of the Sureté Générale and of the Paris Police. But the people demanded some *real* action, action that would investigate the great financial swindles and uncover those in high places who profited by the Stavisky millions, stolen from poor depositors all through France. Then followed the "last argument" of Government. The "new and better" heads of the police, Frot at their head, simply ordered the police, the Republican Guard, and the military to shoot into the crowds assembled on the Place de la Concorde and near-by places leading to the Chambre des Députés. There was a blood bath. 25 persons were killed; 400 were wounded so severely that a number of them have died since and more are expected to die; and over 2,000 were wounded less seriously.

The crowds that filled the districts in the neighborhood of the Chambre des Députés, intending to march upon the latter, consisted of the most varied elements. There is no doubt that the great majority of them were reactionaries of various types, who hoped to take advantage of the popular indignation over the Stavisky affair in order to proclaim Fascism in France. Thus, one of the largest columns that planned to attack the Chambre consisted of the *camelots du roi*, the followers of the monarchist Daudet and of his publication, *l'Action française*. With them were the members of *Solidarité française* and of the *Jeunesses Patriotes*, both out and out Fascist organizations. Another column consisted of members of the *Croix de Feu*, a reactionary body of former combatants. Other columns of marchers and demonstrators were Communists, as well as bodies of some labor organizations come to protest against the corruption of the rulers of the country.

Following the blood bath, the C.G.T. (the General Confederation of Labor, whose president is Jouhaux) declared a general strike for one day, to take place February 12th, and to serve as a protest against the murderous action of the police on Feb. 8th. President Doumergue tried to have Jouhaux recall the strike order, but to the credit of that labor leader it must be said that he remained firm and refused to withdraw the order to strike.

The one-day strike of Feb. 12th proved a powerful demonstration of the organized power of labor in France. The success of it was due to a great extent also to the fact that the two other Confederations of Labor (the C.G.T.S.R., the syndicalist-revolutionary; and the C.G.T.U., the Communist) declared a general strike of one day on the same date (on Feb. 12th) in order to voice their attitude against the threatening rise of Fascism in France.

This grand solidaric demonstration of labor throughout the country proved of the greatest effect. Practically not a wheel turned anywhere. More than one million workers stopped work in the Paris district. In the entire country three million men suspended all work on that day. The industrial and commercial life of France was at a standstill. No newspapers appeared, traffic was paralyzed, stores closed, and even the post office did not function. Rarely before had organized labor in France demonstrated so strikingly the tremendous power it can wield.

It was a great lesson, and the Fascists were quick to see it. They have quieted down since. But that does

not mean that they will cease their nefarious work and propaganda. Labor in France, as everywhere, must keep on the alert. The danger of Fascism is actual and ever present. But February 12th has shown what labor *could* do if it were resolute and conscious of its purpose. The day may not be far off when the workers of France will be called upon to take up the struggle with Fascism in an even more active way—a struggle that will be for life and death, and now is the time to prepare for it by imbuing the proletariat with more of the spirit of class solidarity and revolutionary aims.

Towards this end is earnestly working the C.G.T.S.R., the syndicalist revolutionary element in the labor movement of France.

Reprinted from I.W.M.A. Bulletin, March 28, 1934

BOOK REVIEW

Watching the World Go By, by Willis J. Abbot, Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1933.

"Newspapers, like men, grow old, blasé and respectable"—this assertion by the author of "Watching the World Go By" presents one reason why the publicity manager for Bryan and Henry George, and the friend and follower of Altgeld, Tom L. Johnson and "Golden Rule" Jones, now upholds Mussolini and Hoover and proudly is photographed with Coolidge. The other cause for this conservatism of Mr. Abbot would seem to be his espousal of Christian Science: that modern religion which ignored the depression until the defeat of Hoover and which refuses to face the facts of economic chaos and advises its followers in every country to "obey the laws of the land" and support war, rather than follow the Prince of Peace.

The book does not have the personal touch of Lincoln Steffens, but to one interested in journalism it is very interesting. The author's friendship for Altgeld and his belief that the Chicago Anarchists were unjustly executed reinforces the opinon of modern historians. He lists the Sacco-Vanzetti case as another injustice, although within the last year *The Christian Science Monitor* has editorially glorified their execution.

Mr. Abbot's description of Hearst, for whom he worked for years, while not conclusive, is instructive. His frank admission that the Spanish-American War was stirred up by Hearst, and the new light thrown upon this assertion by a copy of the letter written by Hearst to his London representative planning for the purchase of a ship which was to be sunk in the Suez Canal to prevent the Spanish fleet from entering actively into the war, enhances the value of the book. This attitude of the author does not seem "orthodox" from the Christian Science point of view for Mrs. Eddy was intensely patriotic during the Spanish-American War and spoke of women going to war and of the "dauntless Dewey." During recent presidential campaigns the editors of the Christian Science metaphysical organs have held up McKinley as the acme of political idealism and have quoted Mrs. Eddy's approval of him with the inference that it would be a sacrilege to vote for anyone but Coolidge or Hoover.

As emphasis is given in the book to praise of *The Christian Science Monitor* and their new publishing house is pictured, it is well to go into detail regarding the assertion that *The Monitor* is impartial in politics and a truly international force for peace, as well as the belief that the paper is truly ideal because of its refusal to carry tobacco and liquor advertisements. While Mr. Abbot states that "No editor can bring out the best that is in him if subjected to constant control by some proprietor or by a board representing corporate control,'" this statement would seem to be either an admission that he is prevented from doing his best by the self-perpetuating conservative old men who constitute the Board in Boston, or else he is not conscious that *The Monitor* has rarely given Mooney and Billings a hearing and has always supported the most conservative of politicians — printing letters on the editorial page from Christian Science groups in Berlin lauding Hitler, and editorially asking that judgment concerning Hitler be suspended. Neither does the author notice that *The Monitor*, which claims to be for peace, carries advertisements of military and naval schools and supports the militaristic Boy Scouts; that the paper which is the official organ of a religion based on "divine healing" continues to flourish on the revenue from advertisements of glasses and of "earphones which can be concealed about the person." The integrity of Bryan who refused to print in his *Commoner* any advertisements from the "trusts" is therefore all the more noteworthy.

In his earlier days Mr. Abbot wrote many books for boys concerning the navy, although at present he claims to be in favor of peace. He admits that his resignation from the *New York American* was because of the pro-German attitude of that paper and that his espousal of the war was because he was pro-English, rather than because of any illusions regarding a "war for democracy." The author quotes with evident satisfaction that his article on Mussolini has been published by the Italian Embassy in Washington and widely distributed, and that Mussolini stated that his article was "the best brief statement of the Fascist ideals he had ever seen in English." Mr. Abbot suffers from the illusion that the "present government was put in and is kept in power by precisely the type of Italians who followed Mazzini intellectually and marched in armed cohorts behind Garibaldi," not knowing, apparently, that Socialists and Anarchists have been killed, imprisoned and banished. It is true, as the author states, that Italy is free from the demands of trade unions, but he should read what John Strachey has to say about freedom in Italy.

The peace movement thrives on out-and-out opposition where the issue is drawn as in colleges where military training is compulsory. The greatest menace to peace is the leader, publication or religion which claims to be for peace; which praises limitation of armaments and supports peace treaties; which talks of the brotherhood of man—but meanwhile supports the very politicians who make and profit by wars; makes a fetish of obeying the laws of the land which compel men to go to war; and supports military schools. When the next war actually arrives the thou-

sands of people who read *The Christian Science Monitor* because it is a clean newspaper, free from crime news and a great force for peace, will be told again, as they were told last time, that the pacifist is a "traitor within" and that all good Christians must support the war. Ammon A. Hennacy

Anarchist Conference

The Anarchists may rejoice at the encouraging news comrades Emma Goldman and Rudolf Rocker bring in from their cross-country lecture tours.

They both found the youth of the country manifesting a great awakening. The Bolshevik spell which has swayed so many of the youth since the Revolution is losing its grip, and forward-looking people are ready and anxious to listen to anarchist ideas.

Comrades Goldman and Rocker are of the opinion that the awareness of the youth to contemporary world events emphasizes the necessity of a strong, aggressive English-speaking anarchist movement here in America more than it was never needed before.

That our movement is lagging, that our influence on the American scene is practically nil, we all know. We must therefore realize that this present moment is the opportune time to develop a strong, militant anarchist movement that will become a factor in the social life of this country. We must not let this opportunity slip by!

The recent call for a conference in New York was issued on such short notice that it was decided to postpone it till a later date. The Freedom Group in New York, in conjunction with a few other groups, formed a committee delegated to organize a conference of all those interested in an English-speaking anarchist movement in the United States and Canada. The idea of this conference is not entirely new, as we have held a number of these affairs within the last eight or nine years. None of them developed anything of great consequence. This time, however, because of the pressing needs of the mass of the people, we are determined to bring into being all the old time zest and spirit of the anarchists of other days and apply new methods of propaganda to fit existing conditions.

We are appealing to anarchist groups, and individual comrades not attached to groups, throughout the United States and Canada, calling upon all our forces to get behind this project, by sending delegates wherever possible, and where it is not possible, to communicate with us by mail, so that the conference will have the benefit of the widest viewpoints from comrades from all parts of the country.

Our object is to attempt a survey of the anarchist forces available for the purpose of creating a fighting organization and to mobilize all our strength in the most effective manner for the spreading of our ideas.

To this end, we pose the following questions and ask that you take them up seriously at your group meetings and let us have our opinions so that, when the conference finally convenes, we will have the most representative opinions from all over the country.

1. What are the available anarchist forces in your immediate locality?
2. What are the potential possibilities of reorganizing your present groups and forming new ones?
3. What methods of propaganda would you suggest as being likely to be most advantageous in launching a drive for new additions to the ranks where you are now located?
4. To what extent may we depend upon your cooperation in the pending conference?

In addition to the foregoing, we suggest this tentative agenda, subject to change and enlargement:

1. Ways and means of organizing a strong English-speaking anarchist movement.
   a. Federation of English-speaking anarchist groups.
   b. Field organizers.
2. Anarchist stand in the labor movement.
3. Our relation to the farmer and agrarian worker.
4. Our relation to the technician in industry.
5. Modern schools for children.
6. Youth movement.
7. The cooperative movement.
8. The anarchist press.
   a. Periodicals.
   b. Other literature.

The date of the conference will be Saturday and Sunday, August 11th and 12th; the place will be the Ferrer Colony, Stelton, N. J.

Discuss the above as soon as you possibly can. Send us your suggestions if you cannot possibly send delegates, so that we may have a fully representative conference.

P.S.—Send all communications to: Conference Committe, c/o FREEDOM, P. O. Box 111, Sta. O, New York.

Financial Report for April and May, 1934

INCOME		
Cash on Hand		$13.04
Freedom Group's Spaghetti Party (including collection) Net Profit		26.70
Chicago Group		27.05
Los Angeles Group		10.00
Pledges: Marc Epstein (2 mos.), Dr. M. A. Cohn (2 mos.) $5 each; D. Isacovitz (2 mos.), Liza Brilliant $2 each; Frager, S. Cohen, C. Comorau $1 each		29.00
Contributions and Subscriptions: D. Crocker, Isa Byers, Frumkin, Linder, Rosanna, Fine, B. Kimmelman, Kulikoff, D. Pearl, L. Baron, Rosen, B. Kaplan, Spanish Comrade, Rothman, Sweda, Friend, Benj. Birnbaum $1 each; H. Stevens 50c; B. Taback 30c; Reiff, Sachs, 25c each; Mazer and friend 10c each		18.50
"Freedoms" Sold		1.00
Total		$125.29
EXPENSES		
Printer	$85.00	
Mailing March "Freedom"	10.00	
On Loan—April and May	20.00	
For E. G. Book Won by Comrade at Freedom Ball	3.00	
Postage and Stationery	1.02	
Total		$119.02
Cash on Hand		$ 6.27
ACCOUNTS OUTSTANDING		
Printer	$395.80	
Loan	40.00	
Comrade	12.90	

ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY
AUGUST 11TH AND 12TH

FERRER COLONY
STELTON . . . . NEW JERSEY